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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the overt and covert ways in which the American educational system destroys cognitive styles which are different from the predominant Anglo-German style. Cognitive styles are the ways in which people think: how they organize and remember knowledge. The author contends that ethnic groups, specifically those of European origin, originally had cognitive styles that differed from the Anglo-German style upon which our educational system is based. As first, second, and third generation ethnic individuals interact with the educational system, they lose their unique styles of thinking and learning. This is a detriment to all of American society. To support his argument, the author describes (1) research on the effects of student self-image and teacher expectations upon student performance, (2) the failure of school curricula to teach children the dual dimensionality of their heritage, and (3) evidence of discrimination against the hiring of ethnic minorities in high levels of educational administration and professorial positions. He then cites evidence of cross-cultural differences in information processing and cognitive styles. This point is explored in depth through a comparative analysis of the traditional British and Italian educational systems. Significant differences are noted in the use of formal and informal language, teaching methods, personal interaction, and student residence. The author concludes with recommendations for change in federally funded programs to promote ethnic awareness, better research into ethnic groups in the U.S., curriculum change for greater ethnic sensitivity, and support of ethnic centers around the country. (AV)

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EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY:

EURO-ETHNICS IN ANGLO-ETHNIC SCHOOLS

Paper Presented to the United States Commission on Civil Rights
at a Consultation entitled:

<u>Civil Rights Issues of Euro-Ethnic Americans in the United States</u>:

<u>Opportunities and Challenges</u>

Chicago, Illinois, December 3, 1979

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I.

In the mid 1920's W. I. Thomas introduced the principle that how people define their situation is of far greater importance than the actuality of the situation. "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequence." Robert Merton, writing in the late 1940's, has shown that we act on the basis of our subjective understanding of the meaning of the situation. We unwittingly create thereby a self-fulfilling prophecy. Our definition evokes behaviors and consequences which makes the original false conception come true.

Just over a decade ago Rosenthal and Jacobson in their report of experiments conducted in the Oak School, a public elementary school, and subsequently Corwin and Schmidt in their study of children in inner cities schools, noted that children tend to achieve at the level expected of them by their teachers. The evolution of this thought and relevant research findings have generated what has been referred to as the "meritocratic and revisionist" arguments.

The meritocratic argument largely emanated out of sociological functionalism particularly the work of Talcott Parsons; Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan followed up this work with empirical research. A basic premise of this argument is that all the institutions in society are structured in order to serve a particular function. Derived from the doctrine of organism developed specifically by Herbert Spencer, this premise further implied that the differentiation of the organic structure of institutions occurs in order to

serve the needs of those in an increasingly highly organized society. In regards to the institutions of education, this principle translates into the notion that the educational system functions as a selection agency, allocating those with the highest intelligence to societal positions that are critically central to the workings of a complete society. The sociologist David Goslin has captured the essence of the meritocratic thesis in stating that "the school affords individuals from all racial, ethnic and class backgrounds and opportunity to continue their education and eventually to get a job that is commensurate with their abilities and training."[1]

The revisionist argument on the other hand emphasizes the deterministic aspects of the social structure rather than the element of individual merit in explaining the structure of social institutions and predicting the behavior created by them. Emanating mainly from sociological conflict theory, this argument is predicated on the assumption that "every society rests on the constraints on some of its members by others." Taking this orientation, many social scientists such as Gintis and Bowles, Parenti, Katz, Tyack and Karier, have examined the institution of education within American society. They believe that factors outside the school are very important in influencing children's school performance, aspirations and motivations; that social class is the most important variable in predicting how far a person gets in school. Carnoy, a revisionist economist, formalizes this view of the school as

1. Goslin, 1965, p.113.

follows: "The school system is structured, through its tests, rewards system, and required behavior patterns, to allow children of an urban bourgeoise to do well, and to filter out the children of the poor, who are not socialized to function in the highest echelons of a capitalist economy and bourgeois culture. The school system is therefore a mechanism to maintain class structure in a capitalist society."[2]

The critical literature of the last 15 years - Hentoff (1966), Greene and Ryan (1966), Kohl (1967-1969), Kozol (1967) (1973), Illich (1971), Farber (1969), Levy (1970); etc. - all point to the educational system as a destroyer of both teachers and pupils. In such a system teachers come to expect too little from pupils (middle-class teachers - lower-class children, in particular) with respect to motivation and competence, factors which may in turn effect teachers' sense of efficacy. There is frequent reference in this literature to the interplay of pupil and teacher attitude towards themselves and each other. Neither the revisionist nor the meritocratists confronted directly the Coleman thesis that "the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his destiny ... appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the 'school' factors together" a thesis the educational critics often refer to.[3]

II

Teacher perception of student motivation and competence, as ego-

2. Carnoy, 1974, p.215.
3. Coleman, 1966.

psychological constructs, must be linked, just as student and teacher attitudes are linked, to wider societal complexes. Both revisionists and meritocratists as well as educational critics see these as important issues even though each attacks the problems from different perspectives. One method of syncretizing these positions is to employ Erik H. Erikson's construct of "ego-identity" and his theory of "ego-identity formation." These notions bridge the psychological and sociological roles of the person by linking aspects of personality and aspects of society in a way that incorporates the work of Charles H. Cooley and goes beyond him by adding a dynamic cast to his notion of "Self image" or the "Selves system." Our explanation of the practical consequences of ethnic discrimination in public and private institutions and systems is rooted in this higher order of propositions.

From this point of view, the individual teacher's ego identity that is including and involving the teacher's ideologies and domain assumptions, his/her attitudes, skills, sense of self-worth, and vocational convictions, come into contact with the child - not directly - but through the mediation of the social system, that is the educational institution in which they function. The interaction of teachers and children, must not, however, be thought of as a one-way process. Children for their part are actively engaged in the process of developing a sense of industry. They now learn to win recognition by producing things. The danger to the psychosocial development of the child at this stage "lies in a sense of inadequacy and inferiority. ... a danger threatens individual and

society where the school child begins to feel that the color of his skin, the background of his parents, the fashion of his clothes, rather than his wish and his will to learn will decide his work as an apprentice, and thus his sense of identity - to which we now turn."[4] Thirty years ago Erik Erikson was thus impressed with the dangers awaiting the minority group child. As the child succeeds in learning to involve himself with and besides others as he develops a sense of the division of labor and of differential opportunity, that is, what Erikson calls a sense of the "technological ethos" of this culture, his successes expose him to what Erikson calls the shock of American adolescence "namely the standardization of individuality and the intolerance of differences."

The traditional success of the curricula of our schools in teaching self-reliance and industry is matched by a traditional failure of the curricula of our schools to each children the dual dimensionality of their heritage.[5] In addition to other things, this understanding requires an international perspective that involves comprehension of our place and our potential in the world. As James Banks puts it, "the current school curriculum is not preparing most students to function successfully within a world community of the future, ... students must be helped to develop the vision and commitment needed to make our world more humane."[6] In their recent report, the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International studies stated that the problem extends from our

4. Erikson, 1950, p.245, 260.
5. Femminella, 1976, p. 296 ff.
6. Banks, 1979, p. 25.

elementary schools to the nation's leading centers for advanced training and research on foreign areas. "Nothing less is at issue than the nation's security. ... America's incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is becoming worse." The lack of education for a global perspective and the elimination of foreign languages from curriculum are linked in this discussion on ethnicity and education for good reason. As we shall see, the inter-relationship of language and multi-cultural sensitivity are antecedent to ego identity formation through the acquisition of a sense of respect for one's own heritage and the development of a sense of respect for others. Moreover, however, contradictory it may appear to be, it is a well known dictum that the study of foreign languages helps us to learn our own language and the study of foreign cultures helps us to learn our own culture also.

The history of the relationship of education and ethnicity in the United States also offers some interesting paradoxes. The earliest educational institutions in the United States, as we know, were the schools that were established by the various colonial groups, usually for religious purposes. The advocacy of religion, and even in some cases the advocacy of "White Anglo-Saxon culture", was often the stated purpose and aim of the school. Higher education too, was established in the United States with and for these same purposes. The first paradox that strikes us is found in the Common School movement of the Colonial Period. The great political leaders of the time, including Jefferson and Franklin, already saw that the schools could be a viable institution for nation-building. What's important here is a recognition of the ethno-cultural aspects of

the schools. As Gutek puts it, "the American Colonial education experience, then, basically consisted of the reconstruction of imported English institutions in light of the new world environment."[7] Higher education in that period was imitative of the two major English universities, Oxford and Cambridge. By superimposing the German graduate school upon our English based liberal arts college, we created our modern, American university system. Overall then, from the earliest Colonial times through the Revolutionary period, the American schools were characterized as being institutions for teaching literacy, religion, transmission of the cultural heritage and particularly the "Americanizing", which is to say, the teaching of the English language and the removal of all foreigness, by which was meant "non-Englishness", from the inhabitants of the colonies.

The schools, then, from their very beginning were established for the sake of ethnicity. And herein lies the paradox: in the dominance of one ethnic group over all others, the schools came to be tools for the elimination of ethnicity. In this respect, the curriculum of today's schools is largely unchanged from those Colonial and Revolutionary times. Children in school today, even in those cases where ethnicity is taught, where the curriculum has been reformed and multicultural education does exist, even in those schools, there is a method of teaching and a mode of instruction that carries on the Anglo-German tradition that was developed in higher education in this country, and which as we shall see, filters down into the elementary and secondary schools. This tradition serves

7. Goutek, 1970, page 21.

to destroy some of the unconscious aspects of the ethnic heritage of non-Anglo children. What these unconscious ethnic ideological themes are we'll see in a moment.

III.

Before moving into that, a few words should be said about some of the prejudice that continues toward Euro-ethnics in the American schools. One the one hand, there continues to be overt prejudice such as exclusion from participation in certain aspects of our higher educational institutions. Particularly, this discrimination is found in college admissions, in the awarding of assistantships, in departmental assignments at professorial levels, and most particularly at the higher levels of educational administration. Studies done both at the City University of New York and at the State University of New York show this differential exclusion at the various levels. Although, for example, Italian-Americans constitute something in the area of twenty three percent of the state population, a survey completed in June of this year at the State University of New York at Albany showed that while ten to twelve percent of the faculty is Italian-American, only two percent of the administration is Italian-American. Obviously, this does not happen by accident. The so called pool of talent is available and is under utilized. The same can be said for other Euro-ethnic groups, expecially Catholic groups, including eastern and southern European Catholics, and also to some extent, the Irish.

Certain state legislators in New York have called for an extensive study of this kind of discrimination in both private and public

institutions, but to date no systematic analysis has been done. The reason for this and for the fact that nationwide statistics are also not readily available requires some analysis. Complex dynamics account for these lacunae in our ethnic and desegration literature, including, paradoxically, belief on the part of Euro-ethnics in meritocratic myths and the view that former overt prejudice was a fair and proper obstacle that newcomers could be expected to overcome as a kind of "price of admission." The experience of the Jews elsewhere in the world through so much of history prepared them to be on guard for, and alerted them much earlier to, the real meaning of certain behaviors allowing them to see the discrimination for what it was.

Until recently, most non-Jewish Euro-ethnics have been unwilling to see themselves as being discriminated and prejudiced against. Therefore, they have not only failed to support efforts at investigation and public exposure, but indeed have gone on record deriding such undertakings. These so called "melted" ethnics, a term which in this case I believe to be an uncalled for and inappropriate invective, dissociate themselves from and repudiate those ethnic organizations which attempt to bring to light, and seek redress for, acts of discrimination. There are some, too, who, sensitive to the injustices done to racial minorities, have joined their cause in freedom marches and demonstrations; but through the mental processes of denial and distantiation they have been unable for various reasons to see the exploitation and unfair impositions put upon them, their families and others of their ethnic and religious background.

More difficult to assess, but more important, is the covert prejudice that goes on in our schools, and indeed other institutions as well. While the discrimination and prejudice against Afro-Americans, Native-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans has been studied, little attention has been paid to the discrimination and prejudice against most Euro-Americans. Nevertheless, much of the prejudice that exists in the schools and which is detrimental to the minorities affects also immigrants, and the children and grandchildren of immigrants; and it matters little whether they are Euro-ethnics, Asians, Africans, South Americans or Native North Americans. The Anglo-Saxon superiority myth and the melting pot assimilationism, for example, are as detrimental to non Anglo-Saxon Euro-ethnics as they are to the other minorities.

Another kind of covert prejudice exists which is more important because it is so pervasive and at the same time so subtle and it effects nearly all of the peoples of the United States. In a certain sense, all Americans have been short changed - have been robbed in some way because there has been denied to us somethng to which we have a right. The fact that we are essentially a mono-cultural society whose major characteristic is our multi-ethnicity gives each of us, as members of this cultural democracy the right to aspects of the cultural heritages of all our people. As the ethnic themes of those people are diminished and as they disappear, they are lost to all of us.

Individual and group values and value-orientations constitute a comparative aspect of culture that can be found to be transmitted

by socialization, and these have been extensively studied by anthropologists, social psychologists, sociologists and educators in the United States. Another dimension of culture found in individuals and transmitted by socialization but rarely studied is the particular and distinctive mode of "processing information" that is characteristic of each group.

IV

The renewed interest in recent years in cognitive psychology, particularly the study of "cognitive styles", has a more extended history. The Personal Construct theory of George Kelley in recent times, the psychoanalytic perspectives of the ego-psychologists in earlier times and the culturological perspectives of such anthropologists as W.H.R. Rivers, Mellville Herskovitz, Donald Campbell, Marshall Segal and others, extends the interest in ethnic differences in (what might broadly be called) "information processing", back to the late 1940's and even to the turn of the century.

The results of those earlier studies which show that there were cross cultural differences in "information processing", have been confirmed by more recent research. One important aspect of the earlier studies, for example, is that differences in perception and inference habits [8] were shown to possess both neurophysiological and social structural involvements as well as cultural involvements. Because of its practical applicability to the training of teachers and counsellors in multi-ethnic education, it may be worthwhile to spend a brief moment in clarifying what is meant to be here.

8. Campbell, 1964, p. 313.

"Information processing" as used here, refers to any and all of the behavior engaged in by individuals as they deal with experience intellectually. That is, it includes learning, analyzing, expressing, or, stated from a cognitive learning perspective, ordering one's world. While it should be obvious that different, sometimes even opposing, propositions may be deduced from various theoretical perspectives, most would accept the general notion we are using here.[9]

The notion of information processing is broadly conceived to include a wide array of cognitive properties. The notion of "cognitive styles" on the other hand, is only slightly more delimited. It refers to the manner or mode of engaging these properties. Individuals differ in the way they organize knowledge, in the way they transform it, in the way they conceptualize, in the way they remember, and so on. The literature on cognitive styles contains a wide variety of specific functions described; an extensive body of research following distinct theoretical lines; and it contains a story that spans many decades of eminent psychologists peeking into this elusive area. For those just beginning to get into this field, Goldstein and Blackman's book entitled Cognitive Style can be recommended as a useful beginning. For them cognitive style has been defined as a "hypothetical construct that has been developed to explain the process of mediation between stimuli and responses. The term cognitive style refers to the characteristic ways in which individuals conceptually organize the environment." After describing historically the many theorists and

9. Berry, 1971, Passim.

researchers that have entered into this field, they sum up by stating that "common to all theory and research on cognitive style is an emphasis on the structure rather than the content of thought. ... Structure refers to how cognition is organized; content refers to what knowledge is available."[10]

To illustrate very briefly what specifically we are referring to, let us look at an example of one of the many cognitive styles that have been identified. One of the earliest was the work done by Witkins in 1954,[11] on what is called field-independence and field-dependence. Everyone has probably at some time or another come across one of those figure/ground optical illusions that abound in introductory social psychology textbooks. The one I'm thinking of is the black and white illustration that may be viewed either as a black vase against a white background or two white profiles facing each other against a black background. In the first case the vase is the figure, in the second case, what was the vase is now the background and the faces are the figure. Field-dependence and field-independence are two ways of perceiving figures in complex contexts. A field-independent person perceives the figure without readily being confused by the ground, a field-dependent person is, as the label signifies, much more dependent upon the ground highlighting the figure. Field-independent persons perceive analytically, easily extracting figures from irrelevant contexts. Field-dependent persons have more difficulty since they attend to relationships between the figure and the ground. Depending upon which researcher

10.Goldstein and Blackman, 1978, pp. 2-3.
11.Ibid, pp. 174 ff.

is being studied, one may list anywhere from three to nineteen or twenty categories of cognitive styles.

A more important point to note about cognitive style is that in the research that has been done there has been a movement from a concern with cognitive styles relating to ability to perform, with standards established for comparison,, through greater value placed upon the stylistic categories, to a third type of style that does not related to ability at all.

In a book entitled Human Ecology and Cognitive Style, John W. Berry reports on cross cultural studies in this area. His work is of particular interest to us for it brings cognitive functioning into relationship with social functioning, something that was only hinted at in earlier psychological studies. For Berry, differentiation, that is, an ability to break up or analyze a problem as a step toward its solution,is a useful process for analysis. Berry relates his work to earlier theorists, including Witkins mentioned earlier, and to the work of George A. Kelly, whose personal construct theory has been mentioned earlier as an important theory for this kind of research. With respect to social function, Berry leans on Witkins in relating it to three cognitive styles. Introducing the notion of a sense of separate identity, he notes that it can manifest itself in various ways: 1) a person with a developed sense of identity functions with little need for guidance or support from others, 2) such a person would be able to face up to contradictory attitudes and judgements from others, and 3) she/he would have a relatively stable view of his or herself

in different social milieus. Here again the field-independent and field-dependent cognitive styles are used as measures of separate identity. What Berry leads to in all of this is the notion of social complexity which he states has emerged to cover both aspects, that is, the psychological and sociocultural domains of differentiation. This he feels presents a framework for developing a model for cross cultural research.[12] Finally, in the conclusion to their book, Goldstein and Blackman report on child rearing correlates of cognitive style. The results from a number of studies in this area are reported to be consistent.[13] This with Berry's work seems to reinforce the argument for introducing the idea of ethnic differences in cognitive styles. Research done at the State University conducted by Professor Bosco and his associates has attempted to apply cognitive style theory to individual instruction through what is called "cognitive mapping." Cognitive mapping is simply a process of testing and developing profiles on individual students with respect to their learning styles. Preliminary results seem to indicate that differential cognitive styles exist between Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and non-differentiated white groups. Three principle cognitive styles were studied: 1) the independent learning style, 2) the dependent learning style and 3) the authoritarian learning style. To describe these styles very briefly: when given the task of reading a literary selection and extracting the major themes, the independent learners read the work and extract what they believe is the leit-motif. The dependent learners read and then seek out peers, friends with whom

12. Berry, 1976, Chap.3
13. Goldstein and Blackman, 1978, page 222.

they then discuss before they are able to feel certain of their judgement. The students exhibiting the authoritarian learning style, after reading are found to seek out the teacher or some very bright student with whom they may or not be very friendly in order to get affirmation of their opinion before they are confident that they know the answer.

It is important to note that the best style, the style that we believe everyone should use in learning is determined by our value system. Viable and rational arguments can be presented in favor of each of these styles over each of the others. The tragedy in our society is that we do in fact prefer some of these styles over others and we impose rewards and sanctions on them. Although different cognitive styles probably existed between European ethnic groups, it is only as a result of integrated education that we are beginning to recognize these differences and the specific values inherent in each of the different styles. Finally, I might mention that at Albany we are just beginning to collect data on differences between the cognitive styles of Jewish Americans, Italian Americans and Polish Americans, but unfortunately no results can be reported at this time.

V.

From the psychological literature that we have been reviewing we have seen that individual differences in cognitive styles do exist and that there is consistency in correlating selective styles with aspects of child rearing. In spite of the lack of hard psychological data on group differences, some other kinds of data can be presented.

From the historians and ethnologists we discover differences in teaching styles and from the linguists we obtain some important material to inform our psycho-ethnology. We shall focus now on these kinds of data. Since, as we mentioned earlier, American educational institutions were essentially English, it becomes necessary to contrast, however briefly, the English with some other European educational systems. For this purpose, I'd like to describe briefly the Italian educational system.

To begin, the Italian university system is essentially an aural/oral system. The accent is on lectures; and the language of the academe is a distinct language. In contrast, the English system stresses the visual, that is, reading, and the language of the academe is not so different from the spoken English. These linguistic differences will be addressed in a moment.

Secondly, the emphasis in the Italian University typically is on competency. The lectures are offered but there is essentially no requirement to attend those lectures. One can enroll in the university and go, attend or not attend as one pleases. When one feels competent to take the examinations, one may do so. In the English university, on the other hand, much more weight is attached to form and method. Upon entrance into Oxford or Cambridge, or almost any of the other universities in England, one is assigned to tutors, usually senior professors who advise and supervise the student's learning. Meeting twice a week, the students are given extensive reading lists and they discuss these readings with their tutors when they meet with them. Lectures are available, but there too,

extensive reading is prescribed both in preparation for the lecture and as follow up after the lecture.

Thirdly, the central ideal of the Italian University was to educate in order to produce an independent and autonomous gentleman who would be prepared to enter into commerce and, in early times that meant world trade. The traditional education in the English university, on the other hand, was for the formation of gentlemen who would be participants in the Court. Contrasting practical methods for achieving these different aims is interesting. In England, following the platonic ideal of establishing a kind of holy place away from the family so as to educate the best people in the best possible way, the individual is removed from society and brought into the dormitory. There one learns discipline and proper attitudes and manners; and there one is relieved of both the cares and distractions of the world.[14] In Italian universities, on the other hand, there is no concern for the students' lives outside of their participation in lectures and in examination. Typically they live with their families or relatives or in private lodging, living in the real world, confronting daily the realities of their parents' society, absorbing parental attitudes and values with respect to business management, financial investments, business-government relationships, international commerce, etc. Maturation takes place at home, dormitories are rarely provided; self-discipline was expected to evolve out of the student's dialectical involvement with his work, rather than from

14. Halsey and Trow, 1971, pp. 79 ff.

the imposition of external controls.

A fourth difference is found in the localism of Italian universities. Each region and every major city had its own university. Students were expected to live at home, and grow up with their own people. In contrast, the English norm was for universities to be national rather than provincial. Being cosmopolitan, they drew their students from those families that were able to use the national public schools.

The fifth difference was alluded to earlier and involves differences in the language of the university. These differences involve other Euro-ethnic Americans as well as Italians and English, so it may profit us to spend a moment considering them.

VI.

Aside from being obviously different languages, there is a startling linguistic variance that influences learning. Language in Italy may be classified as having four levels - if not actually four different languages. First, there is the spoken dialect in the various regions of Italy. Thes are really different languages: Siciliano, Calabrese, Barese, Napolitano, Romanese, Tuscanese, and so forth. Above that there is a kind of a polished dialect, understandable and spoken by the more educated people within the regions. Beyond that there is the academic language, the high flown language of the truly educated gentlemen. This often is the language spoken by politicians in public addresses and it is, too, the language found in some of the media, but typically not in local newspapers. Finally,

at the fourth level, there is a so-called literary language, the true Italian language which is simply not a spoken language. The linguistic tradition in Italy is that the literary language was a contrived language based upon a high form of Tuscanese. This took place from the 13th and 14th century beginning with the writings of Dante Alighieri and of Petrarca and Boccaccio. Linguistic unification in Italy is a post World War II phenomenon. Academicians throughout the Italian university history (and for that matter English university history) until the 18th and 19th century all learned Latin. Academicians all spoke polished dialects in their homes and in their villages but in formal environments and in their lectures at the university they spoke academic language. They read and wrote the literary language. The very best people spoke polished dialects and of course only the very best people went to the universities. Teachers attended not the university, but the Magisterio, where some academic language was used but where the usual language for communication was the polished dialect. Teachers had to develop some, but not a high level of facility in literary Italian; and this was clearly not the spoken language. Children starting out and attending the lower classes at school were taught in the dialect - both the language they used at home and the teacher's polished dialect, reflecting again the aural/oral tradition. As they move to the higher grades they more and more spoke the polished dialect. This was particularly important for those who went to the Liceo, who even began rudimentary work in literary Italian, in preparation for university work.

In England there was a different development. The language of the Court, when it moved to London, became the official language of England. Reflecting this early linguistic unification, the univer sities (Oxford and Cambridge) utilized that language. The literary language was essentially this language - the language of the people which was standardized in the Court (the "King's English"), largely southern in style with some northern influences. Here we see the major difference, the Italian literary language has become a model for Italian spoken language; English spoken language, in contrast, is the literary language. In both England and Italy, as I mentioned, Latin was studied by all, but over the past six to eight hundred years the differences and linguistic variances of which I spoke, existed.

For people who are educated for so long in the tradition of separation of spoken and literary language, where schooling was aural/oral oriented, where expression of intellectuality was easily found in symbolism other than literary, viz . art, dance, music, sculpture, architecture, etc., for such a people to move suddenly into a tradition where the spoken language is the literary language and the school language is that spoken language, is so different from what they were accustomed to that it required and demanded a shift, such that their styles of learning, the original styles of learning inherited from their forebears over many centuries, are lost.

Language acquisition for the academic elite in Italy was apparently facilitated by this linguistic phenomena. As children they learned to speak a dialect, and in the better homes learned to speak a polished version of the dialect as a second language, not a

second language built upon the first, but they were indeed bilingual. In fact, since they were being prepared for higher education as very young children they began to study the language of the Church, Latin. They began to study the Italian academic language in the Liceo so that by the time they were at the university learning literary Italian they had acquired at least four and possibly five different languages. As I said earlier, this was in preparation for their future roles as business and commercial people in international trade.

The situation was quite different in England. It is true the children of the best families were instructed in Latin, but usually this was something that took place in "prep" school after the child was already well formed. If we can accept the statement of Pensfield and Roberts that neurophysiological changes take place in brain mechanisms that make the acquisition of new languages progressively more difficult after the age of nine, then it stands to reason that this later introduction to a foreign language must have some detrimental effects.

Following the British system in the United States, we usually refrain from introducing foreign language teaching to children until well into the secondary schools; and there the data is that foreign language is diminishing and postponed until college years. What this means is that [redacted] by the time children are at age seven the first language encoding is already such that any new language being studied is being learned through the mediation of the first language encoding. That being the case we have children learning

culture through language usage that represents their primary encoding. This is a different situation from the one in which children learn multiple languages in their early years. Multiple coding takes place which enables future language learning to be engaged in directly with at least differential and probably diminished mediation.

VII

With respect to an immigrant, an interesting corollary of all this takes place. The immigrants have a foreign language (encoding) through which they learn their native culture. On entrance in the United States, they enter a society of a different culture. Immediately, therefore, they begin to learn both a new language and culture and they find themselves surrounded by it. Thus, for immigrants, an acculturation begins to take place. In each individual a new language is added to the former; a new culture begins to replace more or less, but never all, of a former culture. Socialization of the immigrants' children also takes place. It must be remembered that this process of socialization refers to the children's internalizing the culture as it is interpreted by the parent.

In the case of second generation persons, we have children who, while they may have been born in the United States, learn about American culture from parents who are interpreting the culture through the perspectives of a different culture and a different language. Those second generation persons grow up and have children and they, in turn, interpret the culture to their children through the special linguistic and cultural encoding passed on to them, so that over time, American culture as a whole continues to evolve

and change, reflecting the presence of the remnants of languages and cultures of each new wave of immigrants. This linguistic and cultural persistence may be thought of as another argument for the so called "emerging culture" theory of ethnicity.[15] Two other important corollaries may be drawn from this. First, in this age of internationalism the recent report of the President's Commission, which was mentioned earlier, indicted the nations' schools for their failure, on all levels, in teaching foreign languages. Although we are probably right in thinking that other people need to learn English, it must be recognized that when they do, it puts us at a disadvant age if we do not know their language. This is true in business, diplomacy, commerce, science, the arts, etc. Our tradition of putting foreign languages in the secondary school ignores the contributions to be made by peoples of very many different cultures, so many of whom have multi-lingual traditions.

The second corollary is that the schools have for the most part failed to see the implications of all of this. They have assumed that anyone born in this country could or should adopt the Anglo-Saxon cognitive styles of our schools. Thus, we have a very subtle form of prejudice operating in favor of Anglo-American groups and against other Euro-American groups (to say nothing of what that does to Americans of Asian, African, South American and Native North American ancestry). For second and sometimes even third generation persons this discriminatory practice is quite detrimental not only to the individuals but, from yet another perspective, to the nation. For by the time a person succeeds

15. Femminella, 1979, Part Iv.

academically in our society, he has adapted to Anglo-German styles. But in adapting to those styles he has lost the cognitive styles of his alien heritage. Subtle, covert prejudice and discrimination operates here which hurts individuals and their education, and, at the same time and more importantly, hurts the intellectual capability of the United States. Just as we lose the foreign languages and become diminished in our foreign relations capability, foreign trade capability and diplomatic capability because of that, so we become diminished in the cognitive styles that we ought to have.

I would like to point out as emphatically as I can, that nothing in which I'm saying is meant to gainsay the value of the Anglo-German educational or cognitive styles. What I am saying is that there are alternative styles which should be made available to all Americans and which all curriculum developers and counsellors and all teachers must be aware of. In creating materials in counselling and in teaching, visual, auditory and kinestic styles are all needed. In any good teaching program, books, filmstrips, cassette recording, etc. may all be used, determined by the combination of: teacher's style, student's style and nature of the material being taught. If a child does well and is found in the early grades to be favoring one or another of these learning aids, than a decision must be made as to whether and how the child can be assisted to engage in other kinds of cognitive approaches. If we believe that everyone has a right to an education then we have to adapt the education to who is learning anf for what purpose.

Basic education in the three R's is commonly accepted as essential.

It must be pointed out that essentially it is an assumption based on who is educated and why we are educating. In the age of mass education it may be required that different conceptions of education be developed. The history of university education is a history of education for the elite and in this respect, Southern European and Anglo-German universities are not different.

The work of Basil Bernstein is particularly relevant at this point. Bernstein raises questions about how social structure becomes part of one's experience what the main process is for achieving this, and what this implies for education. He proposes that forms of spoken language, in the process of being learned "elicit, reinforce, and generalize distinct types of relationships with the environment and thus create particular dimensions of significance."[16] Speech defines what is affectively, cognitively and socially meaningful for us, thereby enabling us to attach meaning to our experience. As a result, cognitive as well as social skills may be gained or denied to us by virtue of certain linguistic forms, affecting both academic and vocational success. "... and these forms of language use are culturally, not individually determined." Bernstein emphasizes the deterministic aspects of socio-cultural forces upon the development of language skills which in turn conditions how we learn.[17] The restricted and elaborated communication codes and styles of verbal behavior that Bernstein describes in lower class families are typically found also in immigrant families where the language of the host society is spoken poorly. Language differentials for the children and

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16. Bernstein in Halsey et al., 1961, pp.288 ff.
17. Ibid. p.309.

grandchildren of immigrants must therefore be taken into account in curriculum development again in order to avoid a covert form of discrimination against such children.

At the same time, in the conclusion to the study done by Hollos five years ago, it is suggested that possibly different social environments may be producing "high" level performance in different cognitive areas, which has, of course, been the major implication of the present paper. "In turn, this raises the question of what cognitive behaviors one values and whether it is always correct to adjust the performance of other cultural [ethnic] groups to any single standard."[18]

VIII

This paper has been addressing how and what we have been doing to destroy alternative cognitive styles in the schools. I will not argue either for or against the primacy of Anglo-German cognitive styles in schools, but the argument here has been against the destruction of alternative styles. These alternative styles handed down through generations and brought to the United States by the immigrants to America represent ages of contributions to philosophy, mathematics, science, literature, poetry, art, dance, music, sculpture, architecture, to moral development and ethics, and to the well being of people for many, many centuries. It is not necessary to defend the choice in selecting one style over all others; it is necessary to defend the elimination of all other styles.

The challenge to the schools in the 1980's with respect to ethnicity and education will be to affect the complete reversal of

18. Hollos, 1974, p. 149.

that stance which the schools have taken historically, insisting upon Anglo norms of education and of behavior and of methods of learning and of methods of expressing for all Americans.

In order to meet this challenge the schools will have to consciously enter into programs that inspire and generate higher levels of ethnic sensitivity. More extensive implementation, for example, of the recommendations of the Ethnic Heritage Center for Teacher Education of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education would be a meaningful beginning. There are yet many states where implementation of these recommendations has not begun.

The more general response from a Civil Rights perspective is the elimination of discrimination against Euro-ethnics. The impact of the affirmative action programs for minority peoples has awakened Euro-ethnics to their own condition since they and not the established persons in our society are the ones that are being asked to bear the burden for the injustices perpertrated upon the minority peoples in this country over the past three hundred and fifty years.

A more positive and academic recommendation might be made following the usual observe--think--act model. A) with respect to observe, research of the following types should be encouraged. 1) programs for research into various cultures and ethnic groups in the United States should be continued and the materials should be made available for ethnic studies courses in the schools and in the colleges as well. Such research requires foreign language training which should be made available. 2) research in psychological, sociological and ethnological aspects of cognition should be encouraged and the materials utilized in

determining new programs and methods of teaching. 3) Research into new techniques of interpersonal communication interaction based upon the findings obtained above should be supported and encouraged. Research into survival techniques utilized by immigrants to this country should be described in order to provide counsellors and teachers of new immigrants with the kind of knowledge they need, to help immigrants cope. B. With respect to thinking, conferences, seminars and writings should be encouraged within the academic and educational community to develop theoretical explanations and enhance our understandings of the materials obtained through the research. C. With respect to action, numerous programs can be recommended. Overall, the most inclusive recommendation should be made with respect to reforming the curriculum so that all aspects of the curriculum reflect an ethnic sensitivity. Thus, the teaching of ethnicity and the teaching of ethnic studies should not be the final goal of the reform but rather the goal should be to have all subjects which are taught done so with ethnic awareness. Thus, for example, not only should there be course materials presented on various ethnic groups in the social studies curriculum but rather even in the art curriculum, in the history program, and even perhaps in the physical education aspect of curriculum, ethnic sensitivity can be incorporated. In a word, we are dealing with holistic human beings who must be treated in a manner that reflects this holism. Additional curriculum reforms should be made in specific ways by supporting the inclusion of ethnically concerned persons in all major programs supported by the federal government as for example

in the Vocational Educational Program, in the International Education Program and so on and so forth.

The Federal government's role in ethnicity and education has taken essentially two major forms 1) the Bilingual-Bicultural Act and 2) the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act, Title IX. Both of these programs require revitalization and renewed conceptualization. With respect to the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act which relates most directly to what we are dealing with here, major reforms should be made. The result of the Title IX program is that some ten to twelve million dollars worth of projects have been funded over the past five years. Most of the money was spent in the development of curriculum materials on every major ethnic group and most other ethnic groups in the United States. A major shift should be made from funding the development of curriculum materials to funding dissemination of these materials and the training of teachers in the use of these materials. The dissemination should be made for the purposes of making known more widely the current state of knowledge and skills and the sharing of ideas about ethnicity in all of its aspects. This dissemination can be done through various materials including the contractual development of clearing houses, the establishment of a journal which would include review of materials that are available, reviews of various books on ethnicity and so forth, and, finally, a newsletter whose purpose would be the rapid and facile dissemination of events which have a specific ethnic import.

An important part of government support of ethnicity and education could come through the support of ethnic centers around the country whose purpose would be to relate to all of the ethnic organizations in order

to conduct a continuing dialogue into the problems of ethnics in all of its ramifications. Out of this a more profound understanding of the relationship of ethnicity and education can be engendered. The integration of ethnicity as a dimension of education with the reality of ethnicity as an aspect of community life in general should not be overlooked. In this respect Anderson's important study of the Title IX Program should not be overlooked, neither should the ideas developed at the important conference on dissemination organized by the Ethnic Heritage Studies Clearinghouse at Boulder, Colorado in 1978.

All of this brings us back to the initial points we made at the beginning of this paper. If indeed we see in the ethnic heritages of the students a tradition to be valued and a style of learning and of expressing which will be of importance for the making of the United States, then we will see in students the positive contributions and we will expect them from our students. In this way students themselves will feel that they have something to bring to the classroom and to the United States.

Teachers own self-respect and respect for heritage will be translated into a personal sense of self-worth so that coming into contact with the child will in itself positively enhance the child's world and the world the child will make. For it should be recognized that, in the final analysis, the spirit of cultural democracy can be concretized and realized only when young Americans can make America in their own image.

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